

SPiRiT OF THE PRESS.

EDITORIAL OPINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS—COMPILED EVERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

The Manchester Executions.

From the N. Y. Tribune. In its treatment of the Irish question the British Government has made no blunder more serious within the present generation than in hanging the three Fenians—Allen, Larkin, and Gould. These men had undertaken to rescue some of their comrades from the hands of the police. In the struggle one of the officers was shot. The crime was clearly brought home to Allen, and there was strong presumption of the guilty complicity of the others, though the proof, so far as it bore upon them, was not direct. In the eyes of the law the deed of course was murder. We grant that it ought to be so regarded, though we may question what degree of moral criminality was attached to these unfortunate fellows, who acted in all probability from an honest albeit unreasoning patriotism, and had no feeling of animosity towards the man they killed, no desire even to take his life. We grant that the jury had no pretext to find any verdict but one of guilty, and the judge no power to impose any other sentence than the one which has been carried out. But punishments are just and wise not so far as they are proportioned to the offense, but so far as they are salutary to the public. The penalties inflicted by human tribunals ought to be not vindictive but exemplary. Vengeance is the prerogative of the Almighty; we have to do only with the welfare and protection of society. The opponents of capital punishment condemn it because, however richly it may be deserved, they believe that it invariably does harm to the community. Now, can anybody believe that the effect of the triple execution in Manchester will be other than unmitigated evil? Can anybody suppose that the peace of the United Kingdom will be more secure, the lives of public officers safer, the spirit of Ireland more tranquil or more timorous, because the law has avenged itself upon these three poor wretches?

The execution of Allen, and Larkin, and Gould is the most important reinforcement that Fenianism has yet received. The cause wanted nothing so much as a martyr; now it has three. The people had very nearly lost confidence in their leaders; they had ceased in a measure to give their earnings for preposterous campaigns and above insurrections; their rebellion was dwindling down into a sort of guerrilla warfare, sustained only by the most headstrong and desperate of their number. Now it is ten chances to one if the flame is not kindled again. Confidence may not revive, but enthusiasm will; and enthusiasm with the Irish is the most powerful of impulses. The Manchester prisoners will inspire their countrymen with a bitterer hostility towards England by their deaths than they ever could have inspired by their lives. Robert Emmet did more harm to Great Britain by being hanged than he did by his Dublin insurrection. If he had been pardoned, or simply imprisoned, his countrymen in after years would have remembered him for his failure; now they are elevated and inspired by the memory of his heroism. Suppose Smith O'Brien or John Mitchell had been executed after the rebellion of 1848; their names would have been written more to the next rising than hundreds of armed men. What are their names worth now? If the sentence of these Manchester Fenians had been commuted to a long imprisonment, and if then, at some not very distant day, they had been set at liberty by a general amnesty, their power for mischief would have been effectually destroyed, and a good effect might have been produced upon Irish sentiment. Now Irish rancor has been intensified, and the three men in their graves are more dangerous than ever before. Popular heroes are never so much to be feared as when they have gone to that other world, where their frailties are concealed from us, leaving behind them the glamour of patriotic professions, and of sufferings endured in the name of their cause.

The Bondholders Before Congress.

From the N. Y. Herald. The first day of the adjourned session of Congress did not pass over without a movement being made in that body in favor of the bondholders. Mr. Edmunds, of Vermont, introduced a joint resolution in the Senate declaring that the faith and credit of the Government were pledged to redeem the public debt in coin or its equivalent, and that Congress thereby pledged the United States to make payment accordingly. The resolution was read, laid on the table, and ordered to be printed. Mr. Edmunds gave notice that he should call it up at an early day, and said he hoped it would be passed with entire unanimity. We notice, too, from our Washington correspondence of the 24th inst., that the subject of national finance was the absorbing one, and that members of both houses of Congress are preparing to discuss it. It is evident, also, from the letter of Thaddeus Stevens, endorsing one from John Law, of Indiana, on the question of paying the debt in greenbacks, that the great radical leader of the House is paying particular attention to this subject. Altogether, we may expect to have, early in the session, a very full discussion of our national finances. Mr. Edmunds fired the first gun in the great fight coming on between the bondholders and the tax-payers about the national debt, and it comes from the bondholding side. There is no difficulty in divining the nature and object of this hasty action in the Senate. Public opinion in favor of paying the debt, or a large portion of it, in legal-tender, has been growing rapidly of late, and the bondholders are very anxious, evidently, to forestall or head that off by some action in Congress. It is an effort, and a sort of snip judgment on the question before the people have acquired clear ideas on it. There is, however, another side to this question, and we think the Senator from Vermont will not carry his resolution with that unanimity he professes to anticipate. There is a great deal of ignorance in Congress on the subject, it is true; but as it has been introduced, it will now be well ventilated. Judging from what occurred last spring and winter in Congress, and from the current of public opinion, there is reason to believe the resolution will meet with considerable opposition, at least in the House of Representatives. But whatever the result may be, the action of this Congress cannot but be the action of future Congresses if it be the will of the people to pay the debt, or a portion of it, in lawful money while that is the currency of the country. Mr. Edmunds assumes too much when he says "the debt is contingent or incurred, except where a specialty provides otherwise; upon the faith and credit of the United States, that the same should be paid or redeemed in coin or its equivalent." The contrary is the case.

Wherever it was intended to bind the Government to pay the principal in coin, that is expressly provided for in the law and mentioned on the bonds. There is a small amount of securities of this kind. The greater part of the debt—and we may mention the Fifties particularly—carry no such obligation on them. It was not an accident or oversight on the part of Congress, when creating this portion of the debt, in omitting to say in what the bonds should be paid. There was a clear understanding and purpose in not saying they should be paid in coin or its equivalent. It was intended they should be paid in whatever might be the currency or lawful money at the time of payment, whether paper or specie. The chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means and the leader of the dominant party in the House, Mr. Stevens, explicitly states this to be so, and he made explanations to that effect at the time the Fifty-two bill was discussed. How can Mr. Edmunds or any one else, in the face of these facts, say that the Government is pledged to pay this portion of the debt in coin or its equivalent? Thus far, then, as to the law. The bondholders have no legal claim to be paid in coin or its equivalent. The Government can suit its convenience and the welfare of the country in paying at maturity or buying up previously the debt in whatever money it chooses to use for that purpose.

But the bondholders say they have a just and equitable claim to be paid in coin, whatever the law or face of their bonds may express or fail to express. They talk a great deal about the honor of the Government and its credit. We are quite sure the credit of the Government will be preserved better by paying of the debt as rapidly as possible while the currency is depreciated than by perpetuating it. Should specie payments be forced there would be a poor prospect of liquidating the debt. It would become a perpetual burden, like the debt of England, and we should be in danger of repudiation. No, the way to preserve the credit of the Government is to pay the debt as rapidly as possible while the currency is abundant and depreciated. As to the equity of the case, it is the right of presumption to talk of that. The claim is unjust and extortionate. These bondholders gave the Government fifty or sixty in paper for their bonds, and now demand a hundred in coin. Where is the equity or justice in that? Justice is not one-sided. Something is due to the people—to the overburdened taxpayers—as well as to the bondholders. All debtors are paid in lawful currency; the courts of law compel them to receive that, no matter when or in what debts were contracted. Why, then, should there be one rule for the bondholders and another for all the rest of the people? But the Shylock bondholders say, we may be paid in specie currency. That is just what they mean and are aiming at. The people and statesmen say we want to get rid of a portion of the tremendous burden first. If the bonds were paid at their present market value, the holders would get much more than the Government would willingly pay them; they will hardly consent to pay forty or fifty per cent. more if it can be avoided. There is no disposition to take advantage of the bondholders by inflating the currency beyond measure and bringing down their bonds to a low figure; but, if we mistake not, there is a growing determination not to force up the bonds by immediate resumption, and thus to favor a few capitalists at the expense of the rest of the community. The country will anxiously watch the conduct of Congress with regard to this very important matter.

Repudiation in Disguise.

From the National American. Immediately upon the organization of the Federal Government, the men and mind of the country had a doubtful conflict to wage with the mob and its demagogues. The Revolution had left a debt upon the people, as great relatively to their resources as the debt of the late Rebellion is to us and our existing means for meeting it. But it was not only the amount of the debt of Independence, like the amount of our present burden, which, in Washington's phrase, was "terrible;" but its character or claims were held to be questionable. It had been contracted at war prices; some of it at continental money prices, and the certificates or evidences had passed from the hands of the original or "meritorious" holders into those of capitalists, who had purchased them at enormous rates of discount. Out of these indisputable facts a plausible sophistry was made to build a theory of repudiation fit for popular presentation; just as a popular murder gets itself softened down to justifiable homicide, when the victim is odious and the slayer is the exponent of popular passion. Nor was legal authority wanting in support of resistance to the odious imposition. No part of the domestic debt had as yet been funded, or assumed by the new government. It had all been in a round of exchange, a sort of lumbering currency, transferred from the hands of the necessities to those who had more means, and faith enough in its ultimate redemption, to offer anything for it, and—must the shameful story be told?—Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State, gave Washington his official opinion that chooses in action were not negotiable under the common law. For our own protection, and to render Mr. Jefferson the exactest and severest justice, we quote his own words:—"By the common law of England the conveyance of a right to a debt, when the party is not in possession, is not only void, but is a crime punishable under the laws of maintenance and champerty;" adding that bills of exchange under the law merchant, and notes and bonds, were the only exceptions to the general rule; that in all other cases assignments were void; and that the debts of the soldiers not having been put into either of these forms, were void. The exact point at issue is worth stating, for we are threatened now with a rehearsal of this great controversy. The soldier, said the reporter, who has shed his blood and risked his life, and the victualer who has risked the sustenance of the army to Congress and to the States, have a merit in their claims which the broker of their certificates cannot claim; and the nation was almost bulled into the repudiation of all domestic debt which was not still in the hands of the first holders. Hamilton insisted that "to vary the rights of parties; to supersede the contracts between them; to take away a right to a specific thing, are not less violations of property than direct confiscation." His whole argument went broadside through Jefferson's cabinet opinion, and it triumphed. Even Jefferson himself afterwards assented to the funding of the entire debt of the country at contract prices, in whatever hands, and irrespective of all the pretended equities against even the most obnoxious classes of it; and yet Hamilton, to the day of his death, never got rid of this offense against the prejudices of the populace, excited by the success with which he vindicated the right, and resulting, the true permanent interests of the nation. Are we to have this chapter of our history over again? and shall we find men enough, and they great enough,

for a similar sacrifice in the hour of trial? Will there be somebody, whom this people must hear, to tell them as Hamilton told their fathers, "That besides the motive of political expediency, there are arguments that rest on the immutable principles of moral obligation; and in proportion as the mind is disposed to contemplate, in the order of Providence, an ultimate connection between public virtue and public happiness, will be its repugnance to a violation of those principles."

We have now an enormous debt, and oppressive taxes to provide for its interest and for current government expenses. The evidence of this debt must, in the nature of things, be laid upon the hands of those who have capital to invest at interest. They were bought for greenbacks at greater or less rates of depreciation, but the least very considerable; these bonds must rise to the par of gold if their credit and value are not impeached, and then we shall have some men who do not know any better, and not a few who intend the worst, to raise the cry either of payment in a depreciated currency, a forced reduction of the rate of interest, or total repudiation, for peace has dangers as great as war. A national debt is not a national blessing, but it need not be a national curse. The vigorous endurance of a burden strengthens the bearer; the dishonorable abandonment of a duty paralyzes the recipient. There is no burden so heavy as a nation's shame, and no abuse of reason so shabby and disgraceful as an attempt to justify it—to employ law and equity in the revolting service of dishonesty. The best that we can wish for the advocates of repudiation, in any form or degree, or under any name, is the submission of Jefferson to the will of history to warn the next generation against the folly and weakness and political sin that they are committing.

In the first year of Washington's administration the Government was not able to pay a dollar of its matured debt, or of the accrued and accruing interest upon any of its obligations; but its god-fathers, who stood sponsors for the political instruction of the infant nation, boldly undertook for it that it would maintain the faith pledged in its name, and from that day it grew in grace and favor with God and man. We have them for an example."

The Manchester Execution—Rights of American Citizens Abroad.

From the N. Y. Times. The hanging of Allen, Larkin, and Gould in Manchester, on Saturday, has given three martyrs to the Fenian cause. Their blood, we are already told, "cries aloud for vengeance." Whatever degree of justice may be in that cry, no one can deny its sincerity, its earnestness, or its probable force. Thousands on both sides of the Atlantic believe that the dead had not a fair trial; and this conviction prevails widely even among those who have always condemned the Fenian movement. A large portion of the Liberal party in Great Britain demanded a mitigation of the punishment; and the feeling which they expressed in this matter will, no doubt, be shared by very nearly the whole population of Ireland. Looking at the black record of Ireland's wrongs for centuries, we cannot but join with the Reform League of Manchester in avowing a certain sympathy with, and commiseration for, those who have been goaded into violence by the accumulated crimes of the British Government.

But sympathy with suffering Ireland is perfectly consistent with the hatred of the crimes of a few thoughtless, misguided Irishmen. Rescuing two prisoners and shooting a policeman dead in the streets of Manchester had no direct bearing upon the success of their cause. It was, indeed, a peculiarly Irish method of obtaining redress for national grievances. It was an "advance backwards," for it has alienated the feelings of a considerable number of the most influential members of the Liberal party in England and Scotland. This alienation in this matter will, no doubt, be shared by the deep impression produced by the execution. Looking at the black record of Ireland's wrongs for centuries, we cannot but join with the Reform League of Manchester in avowing a certain sympathy with, and commiseration for, those who have been goaded into violence by the accumulated crimes of the British Government.

The attacks made upon Secretary Seward and our representative in England, for their alleged neglect of duty in the case of Irish American citizens abroad, hardly deserve serious notice. It is a great pleasure to some politicians to rant a little about the wrongs of the Green Isle, and it would be credit to deny these gentlemen their staple luxury. Throwing aside the personalities in which they indulge, we may consider the main question raised by the recent Fenian trials in Great Britain, so far as we are concerned. We must regard the executions in Manchester as American citizens, and not as Irishmen. It is only as American citizens that the Fenians in Great Britain claim the attention and care of our Government.

We cannot consistently do more for Irishmen abroad than for Germans or Frenchmen or Italians abroad, or for native-born citizens in like circumstances. Neither can we consistently demand for any of our citizens in foreign countries any rights or privileges which we do not concede to foreigners here. Instead, then, of passing a resolution of censure upon our Foreign Secretary or impeaching Mr. Adams, or doing other foolish things, Congress would serve the country much better by ordering an investigation into the laws of nations upon the subject of expatriation. At present our Irish born and Irish vote-holding politicians seem to entertain somewhat confused notions regarding the rights and duties of American citizens in foreign countries.

While, however, there is no reason for doubting the vigilance or fidelity of Mr. Seward and Mr. Adams in their efforts to protect American citizens in Great Britain, we must confess that her Majesty's Government seem not to have estimated sufficiently the effect which the rigorous trial and punishment of adopted citizens of that country would produce upon public opinion here. Even the slightest appearance of harshness should be avoided in the interest of both countries. We do not say that actual injustice has been perpetrated in any case, but the impression nevertheless prevails on this side of the Atlantic that more consideration should have been shown to the pleas urged by the Irish-American prisoners in regard to the composition of the juries by whom they were tried. Complications growing out of circumstances of this kind are not to be disregarded with safety. This country will never become the apologist of murderers, or of crime of any sort committed by its citizens abroad. But it will insist that those who are entitled to its protection shall obtain whatever advantage they "have a right to claim under the law, without reference to the fears or the vindictiveness of a foreign power.

Debt and Taxation—The Policy of Congress.

From the N. Y. Times. The Convention of manufacturers, to be held next month at Cleveland, promises to be a departure from the ordinary efforts of or-

ganized classes. Usually, these gatherings have been a prelude to demands on Congress for some special form of protection. This time, apparently, the aim is to obtain relief by a reduction instead of an increase of taxation. Not the tariff but the internal revenue system is the object of attention; the manufacturers wisely holding that the depression and distress of which they complain proceed more from the ruinous nature and amount of taxes levied upon industry and enterprise, than from defects in the scale of customs' duties. Their general view therefore harmonizes with the general interest; and though we must recognize selfishness as the impelling motive of the movement, at least we may avail ourselves of it as a valuable auxiliary in the work of fiscal reform. For the men embarked in it speak from experience. Their statements as to the exhausting effect of the burdens imposed are verified by the condition to which nearly all forms of industry have been brought. And the sorrow they pray for will commend itself to the people by its immediate bearing upon their pockets.

As a broad principle, perhaps, it is not too much to insist that in existing circumstances the amount of taxes levied should be regulated solely by the current wants of the Government, without reference to plans for the reduction of the national debt. The latter purpose will be in order when the country shall have recovered from the effects of the war—when production and commerce shall have regained prosperity, and when the load consequent upon an inflated currency shall have been lifted off the shoulders of the people. Timid and cautious statesmanship, and a wise and universal economy, can alone restore the strength and ease which should precede the application of measures for paying the principal of the debt. Meanwhile, these plans are premature, and, being premature, are neither wise nor expedient. The questions which force themselves on every man's attention pertain to the actual, unavoidable necessities of the day—not to the discharge of liabilities which will not mature for years to come. Positive wants require all our attention. The struggle to live is severe enough, without adding to it by assuming obligations gratuitously, for the gratification of some financial theory.

If this view is right, the proper measure of taxation is at present the current expenditure of the Government plus the interest on the debt. All taxation imposed for purposes other than these, being unnecessary, should be abolished. And as it is estimated that the excess of revenue collected under existing laws, above the sum needed for these purposes, is not less than \$150,000,000, it follows that Congress, without inconvenience to the Government or damage to the public credit, may reduce the annual aggregate of taxes to this enormous extent. A vigorous system of retrenchment would render a still larger reduction practicable, and such a system Congress ought to enforce in every department. Leaving possible savings out of the account, however, there yet remains the fact that on the present basis of revenue and expenditure \$150,000,000 are collected above the positive necessities of the country. To this amount, therefore, the tax-payers are entitled to relief.

As a result of this large reduction, the Treasury policy will need essential modification. With the relief to producers and consumers which is involved in the reform must come a temporary stoppage of the debt-paying process. That must be deferred to a more convenient season, which, however, may be expected long in advance of the period at which the bulk of the debt will be due. In another respect a change is desirable. Just now we reduce one form of debt with one hand and increase another form of debt with the other. Short-term currency debt is all the time being converted into long-time gold-bearing debt. Notwithstanding, then, the continued system of reducing indebtedness, the interest payable in gold is as constantly increased. There would be no harm in the substitution if greenbacks and gold were on a level. But with gold at forty per cent. premium, and with all the advantages of speculation open, the process certainly cannot be considered as economical. To convert obligations payable in paper money into obligations payable in gold, may pass under the term of funding, but its profitable-ness is past finding out. Its effect is to increase the debt.

Instead of allowing the holders of the currency debt to convert it into gold bonds at pleasure, to the manifest injury of the tax-payers, sound policy would seem to require that the debt be repaid in greenbacks when possible, or its renewal with other short currency obligations when necessary. The proper use of so much of legal-tender currency as the Treasury may from time to time command is the redemption of currency debt; so obviating the embarrassment incident to contraction while reducing the debt. The natural order of finance is just now reversed. We contract the non-interest bearing debt, while we enlarge the gold-interest bearing debt; which is at once a most extravagant and a most unwise course. By following the more reasonable course and paying the currency debt as fast as we can with greenbacks, we should steadily improve the interest account, and at the same time obviate the contraction which, as now conducted, operates detrimentally by keeping business interests in a state of constant uncertainty. Under the most careful management, the transition from an inflated currency to specie payments will be attended with anxiety and disaster. But these may be lessened by deferring contraction until the legal-tender currency shall have fulfilled its purpose, which is the redemption of the currency obligations of the Government. This accomplished, cautious contraction may be renewed with a safety that will be increased with the natural growth of the country in the intervening period.

Whatever policy Congress may ultimately adopt, let us hope that its action will be preceded upon a thorough and intelligent examination of the kindred subjects of debt, taxation, and currency by the financial committee of both Houses. Doubtless a great effort will be made to repress individual zeal. We shall have scores of propositions relating to the currency by members who know nothing of the principles which govern it; and the same will occur in connection with taxation and the debt. From these ill-considered and unauthorized propositions, nothing but mischief can arise. They will confuse and alarm, and moreover will unsettle everything. The prudent course will be to leave the whole to the respective committees, whose responsibilities will be a guarantee of moderation and intelligence. Their reports will give definite shape to Congressional discussion, and we trust will lead to comprehensive and mature legislation. In this way we may possibly obtain a policy based on some rational and intelligible principle, substituting the steadiness of law for the uncertainty of official opinion, and having reference to the position and requirements of the country rather than to the peculiar views of theorists or the claims of exceptional interests.

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The Pope in a Congress. From the N. Y. World. Every devout reader of the daily telegrams from Europe ought to pray for a portion of that euphoric spirit which enabled Saint Augustine to say of the toughest imaginable dogmas, "credo quia absurdum." "I believe this precisely because it is absurd." Without some such dispensation of grace it must be very difficult to keep one's patience or one's wits in a continuous perusal of the wild and contradictory stories which the gossips of London and Paris daily generate to load the electric wires withal and to perplex the "varsal world." How, for example, is unassisted nature to digest the latest despatches concerning the Papal question, which assure us that the successor of St. Peter has consented to go into the European Congress for the purpose of determining the future relations of the Holy See to Italy on the one hand and to the Catholic world on the other? It would, no doubt, enormously simplify the Papal question for the two powers most deeply interested therein, France and Italy, if the Roman Pontiff would consent to submit his claims as a temporal prince to the decision of a Congress of Europe, or even of the Catholic States of Europe. For while it is certain that in a general European Congress the preponderance of votes would be overwhelmingly against any arrangement looking to a permanent collective guarantee of the temporal power at Rome, it is not less certain that the strictly Catholic powers themselves would find it practically impossible to frame such an arrangement, were they even to agree upon the propriety of making it. Of absolutely Catholic powers, indeed, that is of powers which represent populations, either exclusively or so predominantly Catholic as to authorize their Government to omit all reference to Protestant wishes or feelings in forming their policy, there now exist but two in Europe. Of these two, Spain and Portugal, the former, though ruled just now by a Government heartily disposed to support the extreme pretensions of the Papal See, is virtually powerless to control European opinion, or take independent action of her own; while it is much more than doubtful whether the Portuguese Government would give its voice in favor of any measure looking to the perpetuation of the existing state of things at Rome. The King of Portugal is himself a Coburg of decidedly liberal tendencies; his wife, who deservedly exerts a great influence over him, is a daughter of the very King of Italy whom the Pope has so consistently anathematized as a "sub-alpine" spoiler of God's heritage; and the Portuguese people are too profoundly disgusted with the results of clerical supremacy in the neighboring realms of Spain, to look with much toleration upon any project tending to their subordination under a politico-religious responsibility for the preservation of the primacy of St. Peter. Of the powers which, though Catholic in name, are forbidden by their political constitutions and the temper of their inhabitants to commit themselves unreservedly to the support of the temporal Papacy, France would come to a congress on the question determined to throw off a burden which her sovereign cannot possibly carry without imperiling the very existence of his dynasty; and Austria, bent on proving to Germany and Europe her complete emancipation from that thralldom to the Church which has for years hampered her movements, and the supreme symbol of which, the Concordat of 1804, her statesmen and her Parliament are at this very moment united with her Emperor in preparing to abolish!

This condition of things in so-called "Catholic" Europe is perfectly well known, if not to Pope Pius IX, at least to Pope Pius' chief political advisers. To suppose that Cardinal Antonelli recommended the Pope in this state of the case to get himself represented in a Congress, and to submit to the action of that Congress claims which the Holy Father is never weary of asserting to be derived from a power above all earthly thrones and tribunals, is to suppose either that the Pope has suddenly changed his inflexible mind as to all the most important features of his position, or that the Cardinal, having resolved to save whatever he can of the Papacy, has also resolved to follow the Pope into acquiescence. But Pius IX is admitted by his bitterest opponents to be a person of the most unaccommodating honesty. He may be truly described as a fanatic of his own functions. He sincerely and sacredly believes himself to be the appointed Vicar of God upon earth, and as such to be solemnly charged with the duty of protesting where he cannot resist, against all tampering with any of the rights, titles, and privileges of the Holy See, as these were constituted to him when, twenty years ago, the dove descended upon the scaled concave in the Quirinal, and Master Perretti became Pius, ninth of the name. The "logic of events" has no hold upon him. "Accomplished facts" are for him but as the dust and spray of transient human passions breaking idly upon the Eternal Rock of Peter. The provinces wrested from his dominion by their inhabitants in 1860, and annexed, with the consent of Europe, to the Italian realm, are still for Pius IX the lawful inheritance of the Church, wickedly occupied by a thief and robber. If Pius IX goes before a European Congress, it will be to claim back what has been taken from him not to negotiate the terms on which he remains to him can be surrendered most comfortably to all parties concerned. The time has been when Pius, thus obstinately holed to the necessary movement of politics, could be quietly translated to a higher sphere. We live in other days; and though it is possible enough that the living Pius IX is really main obstacle to-day to some sort of a practical settlement of the Papal question, we hardly imagine that a European Congress would now undertake to sequester an amenable Pontiff, or the wildest and most diplomatic of Cardinals himself to harm matters with a dose of "unassisted power." If, however, in spite of all the antecedent probabilities, a kind of European Congress the Papal question really is about to be held, and a Papal nuncio to take his seat between the representatives of the excommunicated King Victor and of the disabed Kaiser who has put his concordat into the hands of the Protestant Von Bismarck, no other recourse can be looked for from such a gathering as the solemn and official proclamation of already obvious truth, that no agreement be looked for between Italy and Europe on one hand and the Pope as a temporal prince on the other. The registration of this truth as the outcome of a grand and general effort to disprove it may possibly be of service to make of European progress. It would at least make it easier for the Emperor Napoleon to withdraw, as there are all the reasons in the world for believing that he wishes and is bound to withdraw, from his own exceptional and perilous position as the protector of power which he has repeatedly conceded in principle, which has languished for twenty years at his counsels, and by which he has just been brought to the verge of senseless and fatal conflict with that Italy which he had done more than any to redeem and reconstitute. Next to a settlement of the Roman question by assembled wisdom of Europe, perhaps the thing to be hoped for is the abandonment of that question to the drift of things, by assembled wisdom of Europe. The Italian and reckless onslaught of Garibaldi upon the Pope, which was in truth rather a reactionary attempt upon the Italian monarch than an honest attempt to free the Roman camp from the Emperor Napoleon's intervention which he cannot with safety himself and France prolong or repeat, assembling of a Congress may release him once from this awkward and disagreeable position. But it will be a wonderful departure from the traditions of the Roman Court. Pontifical authorities themselves put their own hands to help the "Ridest of the Church" out of a scrape which has been annoying it may be to himself and to France great practical advantages for the rulers of Rome.

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